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Armageddon.—By PAUL HAUPT, Professor in the Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.¹

Theodore Roosevelt concluded his speech before the Chicago Convention on August 5, 1912 with the words: *We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord*. Armageddon denotes the place of a final battle, just as *Waterloo* is used for an overwhelming defeat, or as F. A. Beyerlein called his sensational novel, in which he endeavored to point out some alleged defects in the German army, *Jena oder Sedan?* (Berlin, 1903) the meaning of this title being, Will the conditions prevailing in the German army lead to Jena or to Sedan, to a great disaster, as in 1806, or to a notable victory, as in 1870?

Similarly the author of the Maccabean homily in the Book of Joel, which was written toward the end of Simon's reign (about 136 B. C.) when Antiochus VII Sidetes sent his general Cendebæus against Judah, says, If the enemies of the Chosen People should attempt a new invasion, JHVH will bring them down into a *Valley of Jehoshaphat* where they will be annihilated, as the Moabites, Ammonites and Meunites² were exterminated in the Valley of Berachah when they marched against Jerusalem in the days of Jehoshaphat (about 850 B. C.).³

The name *Valley of Jehoshaphat* is now given to the Valley of Kidron which separates Mount Zion from Mount Olivet. This designation (which cannot be traced beyond the fourth century A. D.) may be based on the fact that in the account of the Maccabean victory, given in 1 Macc. 16, 9, Simon's son, John Hyrcanus, is said to have pursued Cendebæus as far as Kedron. This place, however, is not the Kidron Valley on the east side of Jerusalem, but the fortress of Kedron, *i. e.* the present *Katra*, SE of Jamnia, NE of Ashdod, about 3½ miles SW of Ekron. The Jews as well as the Christians

and Mohammedans of Palestine believe that the Last Judgment will be held in the Kidron Valley, and just as the Kidron Valley, on the east side of Jerusalem, is supposed to be the scene of Doomsday, so the Valley of Hinnom, south of Jerusalem, is regarded as the place of the future punishment of the wicked: the name *Gehenna* is the Hebrew *Gê-Hinnôm*, Valley of Hinnom.

Armageddon, the place of the final battle, is derived from Rev. 16, 16: *He gathered them together to a place called in the Hebrew tongue Armageddon* (καὶ ὁσὴγαγεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν τόπον τὸν καλούμενον Ἑβραϊστὶ Ἀρμαγεδών). The Revised Version has *Har-Magedon* (Westcott-Hort reads Ἀρ Μαγεδών). Luther's Bible gives the name with an initial *h*. The Vulgate has *Armagedon*.⁴ Luther's *Harmageddon* is preferable to *Armageddon*, because the name undoubtedly represents the Hebrew *Har-Megiddôn*, the Mount (or Hill) of Megiddo. Hommel's conjecture (1890) that *Harmageddon* is a corruption of *Har-Mô'éd*,⁵ the Mountain of the Assembly in Is. 14, 13 (*i. e.* the Babylonian Olympus on whose summit the gods dwell) does not commend itself, although it was endorsed by Siegfried in his review of the twelfth edition of Gesenius' Hebrew lexicon (TLZ 20, 304).⁶ There is no mythological element in the name Armageddon.⁷

The so-called eschatological passages as well as the alleged Messianic prophecies in the Old Testament have, as a rule, a definite historical background, but when the prophetic bills drawn on the future were not honored, they were afterwards extended to Doomsday.⁸ It is true that the poetic imagery in Messianic and eschatological sections reflects certain ancient mythological ideas, but we find the same influence in modern poetry. We may speak of a *thunderbolt* or of a *jovial fellow* without being conscious of the original mythological ideas. If a newspaper writer refers to *Cupid*, or old *Sol*, or *Jupiter Pluvius*, we need not suppose that his religious ideas are influenced by classical mythology. The day before yesterday was the second anniversary of the *Titanic* disaster—perhaps the greatest ocean tragedy which the world has ever known. A year ago a Baltimore newspaper said that on April 14, 1912 Neptune, in his wrath against the monsters of the deep that were slowly conquering him, arose, and within the space of a few short hours swallowed the giant *Titanic*. This sounds very

mythological, but it is merely pseudo-poetic imagery. If we want to understand the eschatological passages of the Bible we must know Oriental imagery and allegory. Nor can we adopt Jensen's view (quoted by Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 389) that μαγεδων is identical with μιγαδων in Ἰεσεμιγαδων, the consort of Ερεσχιγαλ, i. e. the Babylonian goddess of Hades (KAT³ 637, n. 2).

When Roosevelt used the name *Armageddon* I dare say he had in mind, not the apocalyptic passage in the Book of Revelation, but the sixth stanza of Whittier's poem *Rantoul*.⁹ Robert Rantoul was a member of Congress from Massachusetts and one of the great opponents of slavery. He died at his post in Washington, six days before the forty-seventh anniversary of his birthday, on August 7, 1852. Whittier says of him:

We seemed to see our flag unfurled,
Our champion waiting in his place,
For the last battle of the world,
The Armageddon of the race.

J. W. Bull, of Baltimore, published, in 1859, two discourses by F. E. Pitts, of Nashville, Tenn. The first of these addresses, which was delivered in the great hall of the Capitol in February, 1857, is entitled: *Defense of Armageddon; or, Our Great Country Foretold in the Holy Scriptures*; and the title of the second discourse is: *The Battle of Armageddon; or the World's Last Conflict between Civil and Religious Liberty on the One Side, and Political and Ecclesiastical Despotism on the Other*.¹⁰ Charles Francis Adams lectured at the Johns Hopkins University, Feb. 17, 1914, on *The Armageddon of Lancashire*. An article, by Harold Kellock, in the *Century Magazine* for May, 1914, pp. 75-82, describing the war that is being waged in New England against the gipsy- and the brown-tailed moths, is entitled *The Winged Armageddon*. A clever (but untrustworthy) editorial in the *New York World* (reprinted in the *Baltimore Sun*, June 11, 1914, p. 6, col. 7) pretending that Hearst and Roosevelt are *twin souls* having almost everything in common concludes with the paragraph: *Armageddon is big enough for both of them, and Mr. Hearst is not averse to battle for the Lord provided the gate receipts are equitably divided*.

On August 9, 1912—I had just returned from Europe, after

having attended the Oriental Congress at Athens—the Editor of the Baltimore *Evening Sun* called me up over the telephone, asking me whether I had seen Roosevelt's reference to Armageddon at the end of his speech in Chicago on August 5; he was especially anxious to know whether Roosevelt likened himself to King Josiah of Judah or to Pharaoh Necho of Egypt. I said, I had not read Roosevelt's speech, but I should look it up, and let him know. After about an hour I gave the desired information, and the same evening the *Sun* published nearly a column stating, I had confessed that I had never heard of Armageddon, but that it might have been one of the great Babylonian battle-fields on the borders of Asia; the name probably meant The Mount of Magedom.—

Now *Armageddon* (or, more correctly, *Har-Magedon*) means, of course, *The Mount of Mageddon*, and *Mageddon* is the Septuagintal rendering of the Hebrew *Megiddo(n)* which is one of the oldest cities in Palestine. It is referred to in the Amarna Tablets about 1400 B. C. In some reports of Egyptian officials, about B. C. 1500, contained in the new Petersburg papyrus recently published by Golenischeff,¹¹ Megiddo appears at the head of the Canaanite cities (OLZ 17, 105. 202; cf. *Mic.* 25, n. *). Megiddo is the modern *Lejjûn* on the road from *Jenîn* (at the southeastern end of the Plain of Jezreel) to *Haifâ* on the Mediterranean. The *Mount of Megiddo* is the ancient citadel of Megiddo, which is now known as *Tell el-Mutesellim*, i. e. *The Hill of the Prefect*. This site, which is about five minutes from *el-Lejjûn*, was excavated ten years ago (1903-5) under the auspices of the German Palestine exploration society.

Megiddo is connected with the Heb. *gêdûd*, troop, and means *place of troops, military station, garrison*. The modern Arabic name *el-Lejjûn*, which represents the Latin *legio*, legion, is a translation of the ancient designation, just as *Tell el-Kâdî* is a translation of *Dan*. Similarly *Nazareth* is a translation of the old name *Hethlon* (or rather *Hittalôn* = *Hinnathôn*; cf. ZDMG 63, 514, n. 10) and the ancient volcano which is called *Sinai* in the Old Testament is now known as *el-Bedr*.¹² Arab. *badr* means *full moon*, and *Sinai* is connected with the ancient Assyrian word for Moon, *Šin*, which means originally *change*.¹³

Har-Mageddon was a place of great strategic importance: it commanded not only the road along the southern edge of

the Plain of Jezreel, from the Jordan to the Mediterranean, but also the entrance to the Plain from the region south of Mount Carmel.¹⁴ The road from Egypt to Babylonia ran through this pass. The region around Megiddo held thrilling memories of battles of bygone days. Thutmosis III, perhaps the greatest Pharaoh in the history of Egypt, captured Megiddo about 1500, after he had defeated the kings of Canaan. King Ahaziah of Judah, the son of Jehoram and Ahab's daughter Athaliah, died at Megiddo after he had been hit by an arrow when he fled before Jehu about 840 B. C. King Josiah of Judah was defeated and slain at Megiddo when he ventured to oppose Pharaoh Necho II of Egypt in his expedition to the Valley of the Euphrates. Herodotus (2, 159) calls Megiddo *Μάγδωλος*, with *l* for *n*; Josephus (*Ant.* 10, 5, 1) has *Μενδη* = מנדי = מגדי (EB 2611, n. 2). Also *Meroz* and *Merom* are corruptions of *Megiddo* (see below, p. 419).

The *Waters of Merom* must be identified with the *Waters of Megiddo*, i. e. the Kishon which drains the whole of the Plain of Jezreel and empties into the Mediterranean about half an hour east of Haifa. Next to the Jordan it is the largest stream in Palestine. One of the principal branches of the Kishon, which is sometimes called the head of the river, flowed through Megiddo. The modern Arabic name of the Kishon is *el-Mukāṭṭa'*. This does not mean *The Ford* (Arab. *mākṭa'* or *mūkṭa'*) but *cut*, i. e. *divided, branched*. *Kīshôn* is dissimilation for *Kūshôn*, just as the name of the first river of Paradise is Pison, *Pīshôn* for *Pūshôn* (AJSL 26, 212, i). In post-Biblical Hebrew we find even *nīmōs* for νόμος. *Kīshôn* = *Kūshôn* is connected with Arabic *ḵaus* (Heb. *ḵēsh-eth*) bow and means *bowed, bent, curved, tortuous*.

Armageddon is mentioned in Rev. 16, 16 as the place of the last great battle against the kings of the world, not owing to its associations with the death of Ahaziah or the death of Josiah, but as the place of the great victory of the Israelites over the kings of Canaan, when *the stars of heaven fought against Sisera*. This battle began at Taanach by the Waters of Megiddo, about four miles SE of Megiddo. It is glorified in the great triumphal ode, preserved in the fifth chapter of the Book of Judges, which is generally held to be the oldest monument of Hebrew literature. It may have been composed about 1200 B. C. (IN 478).

The Israelites began to invade Palestine about 1400, whereas the ancestors of the Jews did not enter Palestine before 1100. The Israelites came from the northeast; the Jews from the south. The ancient Israelites, *i. e.* the forefathers of the Samaritans, were idolaters; Judah, on the other hand, is a collective name for the worshipers of JHVH. *King of Judah* is originally a title like the Mohammedan *Commander of the Faithful*. David forced the Israelites to adopt the worship of JHVH, but after the disruption of the empire (about 930) the Israelites relapsed again into idolatry.¹⁵

The chief deity of the pre-Davidic Israelites was not the volcanic god JHVH, but the pastoral deity Jacob who was worshiped at Beth-el in the form of a bull.¹⁶ He is referred to in the Song of Deborah as the *Abbîr Israël*, the Bull of Israel; his bellow represents the thunder which frightened the steeds of the Canaanite chariots so that they became unmanageable, and perished with their charioteers in the floods of the Kishon which had been swelled by a cloud-burst turning the surrounding country into an impassable morass. The elements were in league with the Israelites, or as the ancient poet expresses it, *the stars of heaven fought against Sisera*. A similar catastrophe befell the Turks in the battle against the French, which was fought near Mount Tabor on April 16, 1799: many of them who attempted to pass the morass in their flight perished. We must read in vv. 22. 21 of the ode:

22 Then clattered the hoofs of the steeds at the bellow of Israel's Bull;
21 Kishon's stream swept them away, extinguished the lives of his
strong ones.

22 אוֹהֶלְמוֹ עֶקְבִי קוֹם מִדְּהָרוֹת אֲבִיר יִשְׂרָאֵל:

21 נָחַל קִישׁוֹן נִרְפָּם } נִפְשׁוּתָם { עֲזָזוּי:

Ley saw forty years ago that vv. 21 and 22 must be transposed,¹⁷ but his metrical analysis of the poem was erroneous. He believed that the ode consisted of nine irregular stanzas, and that the lines were octametric. Even Professor Moore in his learned commentary on *Judges* (p. 136) states that the prevailing rhythm of the poem has four beats to the line (or rather *hemistich*). But the ode consists of seven stanzas, and each stanza has five lines with 3 + 3 beats. Apart from the introductory stanza, the poem falls into two sections: A = stanzas ii-iv, and B = stanzas v-vii. The last two stanzas should be transposed so that the anxiety of Sisera's mother is depicted

before the death of Sisera. This must have been the sequence when the final gloss was added:

So perish thine enemies all, but be thy friends as the sunrise!

כִּי־אֶבְרֹךְ כָּל אֹיְבֶיךָ וְאֶהְיֶיךָ כַּצֶּמַח הַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ:

This epiphonema was originally addressed to Israel, not to JHVH; all the references to JHVH in the poem represent later additions, especially the description of JHVH's departure from Seir (vv. 4 and 5).¹⁸ The three lines of this Judaic illustrative quotation have displaced three lines of the first stanza, *viz.* the initial line of the poem, which is preserved in v. 10, and the last two lines of the first stanza, which may have been:
I'll sing

Of the march of Israel's myriads against Sisera, King of Megiddo;
Of the fight of the stars of heaven and fiery flashes of lightning.

In Hebrew:

בְּצֵאת רַבּוּת יִשְׂרָאֵל עַל־סִיסְרָא מֶלֶךְ מִגְדּוֹ;
בְּהִלָּחָם כּוֹכְבֵי שָׁמַיִם עִם־אֲשֶׁת לַפִּידוֹת בָּרָק:

The last hemistich is responsible for the tradition that the leader in the fight against Sisera was the wife of Lappidoth (*Torches*) and that she was aided by Barak (*Lightning*). The original poem contained no reference to Barak. Nor was there a prophetess Deborah. The fight against Sisera was led by Deborah, the modern *Debûrîye* at the northwestern foot of Mount Tabor, which was one of the oldest towns in Israel, *a mother in Israel* like Abel-Beth-Maacha (2 S 20, 19).¹⁹ The modern *Debûrîye* shows that the name of this place was not *Dabêrath*, but *Debôrath*. The statement in Jud. 4, 5 that Deborah was wont to sit under Deborah's palm between Ramah and Beth-el in the Highlands of Ephraim is due to a confusion with Deborah, the nurse of Rebekah (Gen. 35, 8).

Deborah was the ancient capital of Issachar. Issachar, north of the Plain of Jezreel, was aided by the Machirites in Ephraim, south of the Plain, and their Benjamite brethren in the south-eastern corner of Ephraim, near the mouth of the Jordan. Ephraim is not a tribal name; also Gilead in the gloss כִּי־גִלְעָד בְּעֵבֶר הַיַּרְדֵּן שָׁכַן, *he dwelt in Gilead beyond the Jordan*, is a geographical name indicating the territory of Reuben. Reuben, east of Ephraim, across the Jordan, held aloof, as did also the two half-Israelitish tribes in the north, Dan and Asher.²⁰ Judah with the Simeonites and Levites²¹ is not mentioned at all; at the time of the battle by the Waters of Megiddo the

ancestors of the Jews had not entered Palestine. The references to Zebulun and Naphtali are later additions based on c. 4. According to the prose version, contained in that chapter, the Canaanites were defeated by 10,000 men from the tribes of Zebulun and Naphtali. C. 4 is later than c. 5 and, to some extent, based on misunderstandings of the ancient poem.

A third version is found in Josh. 11; here the leader of the Canaanites is called Jabin, as in Jud. 4, but the Israelitish victory is gained under the leadership of Joshua, and the battle is said to have been fought near the Waters of Merom. This is not Lake Hûle, about ten miles north of the Sea of Galilee, but *Merom* is merely a corruption of *Megiddo*. Θ has Μαρων , with *n*, for *Merom*, and the original form of *Megiddo* was *Megiddon* with final *n*, as we find it in the final chapter of the Book of Zechariah and in the apocalyptic *Armageddon* (Rev. 16, 16). In v. 23 of the Song of Deborah *Megiddo* has been corrupted to *Meroz*; the י corresponds to the ג, and the ר to the ר. In ΘA we have Μαζω instead of ΘV Μηκωζ , and in ΘL : Μαρωρ . *Meroz* was not a hamlet in the line of Sisera's flight, whose Israelitish inhabitants suffered him to escape; it is nothing but a corruption of *Megiddo*, and this must have been Sisera's capital. The Israelites did not curse it, but they destroyed it; אֶרֶץ is an archaic expression for הַחֲרִים , *to ban*, *to devote to destruction* (EB¹¹ 26, 685, below). ט has לִוְנוֹ וְתִבְרוֹ . Instead of the imperative אֶרֶץ we ought to read the perfect אָרַץ . The clause *said the Angel of Jahveh* is a misplaced gloss which belongs to the beginning of the third stanza: *Awake, awake, O Deborah!* The phrase *Angel of Jahveh* has often been substituted for the names of ancient Israelitish deities (ZDMG 63, 507, l. 8). Wellhausen says in the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible (p. 176, l. 36): Judaism has turned the heathen gods into angels commissioned by יהוה to govern the foreign nations.

Sisera may have been the successor of Shamgar. Both names seem to be Hittite. In the days of Shamgar the Canaanites blockaded the trade routes traversing the Great Plain so that the Israelites in the mountains were cut off from the Mediterranean, but the Israelitish peasantry had ceased *to march out for the fray*; so we must supply after v. 7^a. V. 8^b, *No shield nor spear was seen among forty thousands of Israel*, must be inserted between 7^a and 7^b, *Till thou arodest, O Deborah*. The

first part of v. 8, יבחר אלהים חדשים does not mean, *They chose new gods*, but *God will select new ones*, i. e. new leaders, *when there is war at the gates*. Instead of the meaningless אִזְלָהֶם שְׁעָרִים we must read אֶת לֶחֶם בְּשַׁעְרֵי. The pious glossator wanted to emphasize his conviction that, if the gates of Jerusalem should be beset, God would elect new prophetic leaders like Deborah of old. The glossator may have had in mind Isaiah at the time of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem.²² This gloss may be post-Exilic, and the line in v. 11, *There they rehearsed Jahveh's deeds, His yeomanry's deeds in Israel*, must be assigned to the same period, not only on account of the Aramaic verb יִתְּנוּ, but also in view of the theological term צְדָקוֹת, *deeds, exploits, victories*, lit. *justifications, vindications*.²³

The preceding hemistich should be read: מִקּוֹל הַמְּחַצְּרִים בֵּין מִשְׁאָבִים, i. e. the Issacharites marched to the gates of Megiddo (read: יִרְדּוּ אֶל שַׁעְרֵי מִנְדּוּ) *at the trumpeters' call* (cf. 2 S 20, 1) *from the banquets*, lit. *in consequence of the sound of the trumpeters between the drinking-places*. In Joel's ancient poem on the locusts the catastrophe is announced to the wine-bibbers; the poet says:

Awake, ye tipplers, and weep! and howl, all bibbers of wine!²⁴

The ancient Israelites did not believe in abstinence; Amos (6, 4-6) speaks of the rich men in Samaria

Who lie on ivory sofas,	and sprawl on their dining-couches,
Snapping the lute o'er the sound-hole,	inditing words of song;
Who drink the purest wine,	and use the choicest perfume. ²⁵

4 הַשֹּׁכְבִים עַל-מִטּוֹת הַשֶּׁן וְסֹרְחִים עַל-עֶרְשׂוֹתָם:

5 הַפְּרָמִים עַל-פִּי הַגִּבֹּל חֹשְׁבֵי-לֶחֶם מִלִּי שִׁיר:

6 הַשֹּׁתִים מִזֶּרֶקִי הַיַּיִן וְרֹאשֵׁי שְׂמָנִים יִמְשְׁחוּ:

The Hebrew word for *banquet*, מִשְׁחָה, means *drinking-bout*, and מִשְׁאָבִים in v. 11 of the Song of Deborah may have the same meaning. Arabic *mis'ab* denotes a *skin-bottle*. In Hebrew, שָׁאֵב means, as a rule, not to *drink wine*, but to *draw water*; nevertheless מִשְׁאָבִים may mean *drinking-bouts* or large vessels from which the wine was dipped out and served to the guests. Milton (*Paradise Lost* 11, 718) says: *from cups to civil broils*.

As I stated above, the preceding verse (v. 10) contains the initial line of the ode. The poet begins: *Ye who ride on red-roan asses, and ye who walk on the road*, שִׁירוּ! This does not mean *Sing!* but *Attend!* i. e. *give attention, listen!* After having addressed the Israelites, both high and low, the poet apostro-

phizes the Cananite kings and princes. V. 3 must precede v. 2; the preposition ב at the beginning of v. 2 depends on the verb *אשרה*, *I will sing*, at the end of v. 3, just as we have in Psalm 138, 5: *וישירו בדרכי יהוה*, *they will sing of the ways of Jahveh*. Also in Arabic you say *غنى بشىء*. The clause *I will chant Jahveh, Israel's God* is a gloss. The poet wants to sing

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i. e. *of the locks that streamed in Israel, of the willingness of the people, viz. for war*. We must supply at the end: *לצבא*. Also at the end of the last stanza but one we must read instead of the meaningless *לצנארי שלל רקמתים*, *two pieces of embroidery for the necks of the spoil*, *לכל צנאיו*, *for each of his warriors*. The plural *פרעות* does not mean *princes*, although it is so explained in the gloss which we find in v. 9: *My heart is for Israel's rulers, for the ardent among the people*; *פרעות* means *long hair*: at the beginning of a campaign the men let their hair grow long. Also *ראש פרעות אויב*, at the end of the Song of Moses in Deut. 32, 42, means *the long-haired head of the foe*. It has about the same meaning as *קדקר שער* in Psalm 68, 22.²⁶

Time will not permit me to discuss further philological details.²⁷ I will only remark that we must read at the beginning of v. 13 instead of the meaningless *או ירר שריר לאדירים*, *then he made a fugitive rule for the nobles*, *רבקו שדרות לאדירים*, *the ranks attached themselves to the nobles, the ranks followed the leaders*. In view of *מְרַחֵם מְשַׁחֵר לך*, *loyally attached to thee and eager to follow thee* in Ps. 110, 4 (JHUC, No. 114, p. 110) we might be tempted to read *שחרו שדרות לאדירים*; but *שחר* is an Assyrian loanword, which is found only in post-Exilic passages;²⁸ so we cannot have it in this ancient poem. There is a difference between *רבק ל* and *רבק ב*. The latter means *to be attached to*, the former *to attach oneself to*. The suggestion that *שריר* was a transposition of *שרר* was made by Winckler, but this emendation has been rejected by all expositors. It is hardly necessary to add that we must resort to several emendations, transpositions, excisions, and additions; the received text can be explained only by those who do not know Hebrew.

I will give in conclusion a metrical translation of the genuine lines²⁹ of the triumphal ode celebrating the Battle of Armageddon about 1250 B.C. The ancient Israelitish poet, who may have been a man of Deborah in Issachar, begins his pæan as follows:³⁰

The Battle by the Waters of Megiddo.

- i 10 *Ye who ride on red-roan asses,⁸
 ye who walk on the road, attend!
 3 Hear, O ye kings! Give ear
 O ye chieftains! †I will sing⁸
 2 Of the locks that streamed in Israel,
 of the people's ardor^a for war;⁵
 32 *Of the march of Israel's myriads*
 against Sisera, King of Megiddo;
 33 *Of the fight of the stars of heaven*
 and fiery flashes of lightning.⁷

- A ii 6 In the days of Shamgar ben-Anath⁸
 caravans {utterly} ceased,
 And those who had traveled on the roads
 had to take roundabout ways.
 7^a {} Israel's yeomanry ceased
 to march out for the fray:
 8^b [] No [shield] nor spear was seen
 among forty thousands of Israel,
 7^b Till thou arosest, O Deborah,
 arosest, a mother in Israel.†

- iii 12^a Awake! Awake! O Deborah! (x)
 awaken thy people's myriads!^λ
 15^a Then {} Deborah's people, Issachar,^μ
 sent down to The Plain its footfolk;
 14 From Ephraim, too, they descended,^ν
 thy Benjamite brethren were with thee;
 From Machir came truncheon-bearers,
 from Issachar wielders of the †staff;
 13 The ranks followed the nobles, {o}
 the people^π marched down as warriors.

- iv 15^b In Reuben's tribal branches
 the great held back in doubt:^ρ
 16 *They dwelt at the fire-places^τ
 to listen to pastoral flutes.
 17 Dan †served on foreign ships,
 and Zebulun²⁰ dwelt near the shore.^φ

- 18 But Issachar's^{z{}} people recked not
of life ^{}}} on the heights of the mounts:
- 11 At the trumpeters' call from the banquets^ω
^{αα}they marched to the gates of *Megiddo*.
-
- B v 19^a The kings came and fought^{ββ}
at Taanach by the Waters of Megiddo;
- 20 In heaven fought the stars
from their courses ^{γγ}against Sisera.
- 22 Then clattered the hoofs of the steeds
at the bellow^{δδ} of *Israel's* Bull,
- 21 Kishon's stream swept them away,^{εε}
^{ζζ}extinguished the lives of *his* strong ones.
- 23 They utterly banned Megiddo, ()
they utterly banned her dwellers.^{ηη}
- vi 28 ^{θθ}Through the lattice-orient^{}}} peered
and pried the mother of Sisera:^{}}}
^{αα}"His train is long in coming,
^{ββ}the steps of his chariots tarry."
- 29 The wisest of her ladies answers,
^{γγ}replies to her anxious question:
- 30 Behold, they will find^{δδ} spoil,
a damsel or two for each head,^{εε}
Spoil of dyed stuffs for Sisera,^{εε}
^{ζζ}two broderies for each warrior."^{ππ ρρ}
- vii 24 Blessed above women is Jael,^{σσ}
blessed^{ττ} in the tents {of the nobles}:
- 25 Water he asked, she gave milk,
curds in a bowl ^{}}} did she bring him;
- 26 Her hand she puts forth to the tent-pin,
her right hand to the workmen's hammer;
She hammered,^{υυ} shattered his head,
battered and pierced his temples;
- 27 At her feet he sank, he fell, []^{φφ}
^{χχ{}}[he lay] there ^{}}} of life bereft.^{ωω}

(α) 1 at that time Deborah^a sang as follows (β) 10 who sit on colts
(γ) 3 I to JHVH (δ) I will chant JHVH, Israel's God (ε) 2 praise JHVH
(ζ) 9 My heart is for Israel's rulers, for the ardent among the people.^b

- (γ) 4 O JHVH, when from Seir Thou departedst,
 when from Edom's land Thou strodest,
 Then earth {and heavens} quaked, {}^c
 the welkin showered water;
 5 Before Him^d mountains[^e] melted, []
 before fthe God of Israel. (θ) 6 in the days of Jael
 (i) 8^a New ones will God select at the time they beset the gates.
 (z) 23 said the Angel of JHVH
 (λ) 12^b Arise, O Barak {}^g muster thy muster! {}
 (μ) 15^a thus Barak *called Zebulun and Naphtali to Kadesh* (ν) 14 thither^h
 (ξ) 14 marshal's (ο) 15^a the princes of Issachar (π) 13 of JHVH
 (ρ) 16^b as to Reuben's tribal branches, the great held back in doubt
 (σ) 16^a why did (τ) 17 in Gilead, beyond the Jordan, dwelt they
 (υ) why did he (φ) of the great sea; (χ) 18 Zebulun (ψ) and Naphtali
 (ω) 11 They rehearsed there JHVH's deeds, His yeomanry's^k deeds in Israel
 (αα) then (ββ) 19 then fought the kings of Canaan
 (γγ) 20 they fought (δδ) 22 bellow (εε) 21 the stream drowned them
 (ζζ) Kishon's stream (ηη) 23 for they came not to the help of JHVHⁱ
 (θθ) 28 through the window (ιι) why is (κκ) why do
 (λλ) 29 also she herself (μμ) 30 divide (νν) man
 (ξξ) 30 spoil of dyed stuffs (οο) one^m or (ππ) as spoil
 (ρρ) 19^b gain of silver they took not (σσ) 24 the wife of the Kenite Heber
 (ττ) above women (υυ) 26 Sisera (φφ) 27 at her feet he sank, he fell
 (χχ) when he sank (ψψ) he fell
 (ωω) 31 So perish thine enemies all,ⁿ but be thy friends as the sunrise!^{op}

- (a) 1 and Barak ben-Abinoam (b) praise JHVH (c) 4 showered
 (d) 5 JHVH (e) that is Sinai (f) JHVH (g) 12 ben-Abinoam
 (h) 14 to the Plain (i) 17 and dwelt at its creeks (k) 11 JHVH's people
 (l) 23 to the help of JHVH as fighters (m) 30 dyed stuffs (n) 31 O JHVH
 (o) 31 in its power (p) then the land was secure for forty years

Sisera and the allied kings of Canaan succumbed to Israel in the great battle by the Waters of Megiddo. The same fate will befall the kings of the earth *gathered to the battle of that great day of God Almighty*

For the last battle of the world,
 The Armageddon of the race.

Notes.

(1) Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting of the American Oriental Society, Boston, April 16, 1914.

(2) That is, the inhabitants of Maon (1 S 25, 2) which is represented by the modern *Khirbet Ma'in* (south of Hebron). See my paper *Bea and Amathitis* in *Actes du Seizième Congrès international des Orientalistes* (Athens, 1912) p. 64.

(3) See my paper *Joel's Poem on the Locusts* in *ΕΞΕΝΙΑ, Hommage international à l'université Nationale de Grèce* (Athens, 1912) p. 384.

(4) The older (Philoxenian) Syriac version (508 A. D.) has מַנְדִּין; the later (Harclean) version (616 A. D.) אַרְמִיאַנְדִּין (cf. EB¹¹ 23, 212^b).

(5) See Nestle's article in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible* (DB) vol. ii, p. 305^a, 5).

(6) TLZ = *Theologische Literaturzeitung*. For the other abbreviations (EB, EB¹¹, IN, JHUC, KAT, OLZ, WZKM, &c.) see this JOURNAL, vol. xxxii, p. 10, n. 11; cf. vol. xxviii, p. 112 and OLZ 16, 488.

(7) Contrast Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos* (Göttingen, 1895) pp. 263-266.

(8) See Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 50; cf. JAOS 32, 120.

(9) Cf. the letter of William G. Menchine in the Baltimore *Evening Sun* of August 13, 1912.

(10) Cf. the letter of Dr. Elbridge C. Price in the Baltimore *Evening Sun*, Aug. 15, 1912.

(11) Cf. Alan H. Gardiner's translation in the new *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. i, part 1 (London, January, 1914). I am indebted for this reference to Dr. A. Ember.

(12) Cf. E. Oberhummer in *Mitt. k. k. Geogr. Gesellschaft* in Wien, 1911, Heft 12, p. 637. This sacred mountain, which was visited by A. Musil (*Mic.* 57, 4) on July 2, 1910, is situated at about 27° N, 37° E, about a day's journey SW of the station *Dâr-al-Ḥamrâ* of the Hejâz Railway, about four days journey SE of Tebûk. A preliminary report of Professor Musil, who was accompanied by Dr. Leopold Koser, of the Geological Institute of the University of Vienna, was published in the *Anzeiger* of the philological-historical class of the Vienna Academy, May 17, 1911. Musil's explorations were briefly described in a cablegram from Vienna, printed in the Baltimore *American*, Dec. 11, 1910, also in the Berlin weekly *Das Echo*, July 6, 1911. According to *Musil*, the Hebrews followed a great trade route from Elath (ZDMG 63, 506, l. 12; 511, 41; 512, 8; 513, 2) in a southeastern direction. The stations of this route may be easily traced. They lead to a large and well-watered plateau, bounded on the east by the *Ḥarrat al-Rhâ*. From this plateau there rises a long table-mountain of sandstone

with a high, pitch-black volcano on its flattened summit. Below this extinct volcano there are two narrow lava-streams less than 4,000 years old. This table-mountain is entirely isolated. At the foot of the northern side of the mountain there are twelve large blocks of sandstone, known as *al-maḏābiḥ*, Heb. *mizbehôth*, sacrificial altars. Similar blocks are found at the western end. On the southern side are The Caves of the Servants of Moses, Arab. *maḡā'ir 'abid Mūsâ*. From this region the Edomite ancestors of the Jews proceeded northward, afterwards invading Palestine from the south. Cf. my paper *The Burning Bush and The Origin of Judaism* in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. xlviii, No. 193 (Philadelphia, 1909), pp. 360. 361. 364-366. Oberhummer (*loc. cit.* 633) has called attention to the fact that the statement in Baedeker's *Palästina*¹ (1910) p. 197 with regard to the *Jabal Barghîr* or *Jabal an-Nâr* in the neighborhood of Elath is incorrect. Contrast Kittel's *Gesch. Isr.*² (Gotha, 1912) p. 510, n. 3.

(13) Cf. ZDMG 63, 517, l. 37; AJSL 22, 256; 26, 9.

(14) Cf. Geo. A. Smith, *The Historical Geography of Palestine*, pp. 386. 389.

(15) Cf. Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 19, n. 18; p. 36, n. 38; cf. JBL 32, 32. 33.

(16) Cf. Haupt, *Micah*, p. 19, n. 17. The *horns of the altar* are a survival of the pre-Davidic Israelitish bull-worship (DB 1, 77^a; 342^b; EB 124, 5; 631). Ps. 118, 27^b, which should be inserted after v. 20, means: *With palm-branches join the procession, aye, up to the horns of the altar!* Cf. איסור, *reunion, social gathering*, Succ. 45^b. See my paper in ZAT 35, part 2.

(17) See Julius Ley, *Grundzüge des Rhythmus, des Vers- und Strophenbaues in der hebräischen Poesie* (Halle, 1875) p. 218, n. 1; Zapletal, *Das Deboralied* (Freiburg, 1905) p. 39; cf. E. Sievers, *Metr. Stud.* (Leipzig, 1901) pp. 418-420; E. König, *Die Poesie des AT* (Leipzig, 1907) pp. 29. 31. 57.

(18) See my paper on *Leah and Rachel* in ZAT 29, 286; cf. also JAOS 32, 17; ZA 28, 241, l. 5; contrast JBL 32, 33; Zapletal, *op. cit.* p. 10. For illustrative quotations cf. BL 26; Mic. 28, 28; 34, 28; 40, 40.

(19) See Carl Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconstellation des Deboraliedes* (Leipzig, 1894) pp. 11. 44; H. Winckler, *Gesch. Israels*, ii (1900) pp. 126. 131; Cheyne, *Crit Bibl.* (1904) p. 450.

(20) The text, it may be supposed, read originally *Zebulun* instead of *Asher*; cf. Gunkel's *Genesis*³ 483. The suggestion that the original text may have been זְבֻלֹן וְכֵלָן וגו' is gratuitous. See also Gressmann, Gunkel, &c, *Die Schriften des AT in Auswahl übersetzt*, Part 24 (Göttingen, 1913) p. 178.

(21) For the meaning of the term *Levites* see ZAT 29, 284, A. 6, und 286. There is no etymological connection between *Levi* and *Leah* (JBL 32, 47).

(22) See my paper *Micah's Capucinade* (JBL 29) p. 86, below, and *The Book of Micah* (AJSL 27) p. 23; cf. *ibid.* p. 14, nn. 4, 5; p. 29, n. 33.

(23) Cf. *Mic.* 36, 36, also ZAT 22, 168, cited by Zapletal, *op. cit.* p. 30. Syr. זְכִיָּתָא means both *justification* (acquittal, innocence) and *victory*.

(24) See my translation in the paper cited above, n. 3. The Hebrew text (in Hebrew characters, not in transliteration) is given in the *Boston Jewish Voice*, Nov. 28, 1913.

(25) See my paper on the Trumpets of Jericho in the *Vienna Oriental Journal* (WZKM) 23, 364, below. The noun מוֹרֵק means *decantation* or *racking* (EB¹¹ 28, 718^b). Cf. also *Mic.* 94, n. *. Heb. ראשית שמנים = Assy. šaman rēšti (HW 671^a, below; 607^b).

(26) See my translation of this Maccabean pæan in AJSL 23, 223, x.

(27) See my remarks on the Hebrew text of Jud. 5 in the Wellhausen *Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914) pp. 216-223; cf. the article *Zum Deborahliede* in ZAT 34, pp. 229-231.

(28) Cf. my explanation of Ps. 110 in ZAT 35, part 2.

(29) At the January meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Sir Charles J. Lyall discussed the relations between ancient Arabic poetry and ancient Hebrew songs in the OT (TLZ 39, 254). I stated in my paper *The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets*, in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, vol. i (Oxford, 1908) p. 272, that, if the glosses of an illustrative or theological character were eliminated, the genuine prophecies of Amos read like ancient Arabic poems; see also my *Bibl. Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. liii.

(30) The metrical reconstruction of the Hebrew text is given on pp. 225 and 224 of the Wellhausen *Festschrift*.